2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonaqaçь (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamьr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring law-suits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamьr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamьr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamьr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16]

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

[312 cont.]
have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place, for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karábulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [796] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the 526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this 524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

527 or a sultan. Here the right to preeminance is
554 decided either by the seniority of the clan, or by the importance of the family if it is a sultan. The person who is given this position of seniority is treated with the greatest respect. This is expressed, among other ways, in the fact that during the feast the cup of meat which is brought to him contains the head of the slaughtered animal.

During these banquets the persons of honor, as a sign of special graciousness, feed a younger brother with their own hands with pieces of meat and fat, placing the food unceremoniously in the mouth of the lucky fellow considered worthy of such an honor, while he usually crawls up to them on his knees. During this time beggars and servants usually wait for the end of the banquet, standing or sitting behind the feasters, and from time to time the honored guests throw them pieces of meat and bones. Afterwards the remains of the banquet belong to this hungry brotherhood and to the women.

855 The rearing of children among the Kazakhs is crude and perfunctory. Neither father nor mother bothers about them particularly. Usually the children up to the age of 12 or 13 run about in the summer naked or practically naked, in some kind of a rag. In the winter because of of the cold they often hide among the sheep, which are allowed into the tent, and there only their half-shaven, half-shorn heads pop up among the rams and gaze with wild, sharp eyes at the
578 newly arrived visitor. Like all primitive creatures, the Kazakhs do not hesitate to use expressions rising to the highest degree of cynicism when they quarrel. But the head of the family only rarely beats the other members.